

# ANARCHY

## An Idealistic Nightmare Resulting from Undigested European Liberty

Burke called the Russian government a "murderer." "Despotism tempered with power is assassination." Our strikes me as full of sympathy and contempt for the oppressor, the oppressed, and complaint of our oppression, open our ports and marry with us at our crime, invite the rag-tan and bob-tail of God's creation, and wonder, because they don't behave. When we have housekeeping, furnished with the five senses, and the four windows! While a free government makes the best for raising good folks, it is the worst for caring bad ones; by keeping the straight from getting crooked, it doesn't make the crooked any straighter. It is the best for a republic and a reformatory under the same constitution. No man will be so remote to crime where there is some excuse as is going to keep from it where there is no excuse. Blowing up people

So far, we have had free sailing on historical seas, but from this time (the records of the proceedings of the Council having been burned by order of Constantine, to obliterate the disgraceful proceedings of the council) much confusion prevails. What little we have comes from a few unguarded

Arthur P. Strong, in his "History of the Eastern Church," says: "The apocryphal canon of Nicea fills 40 books, which constitutes a collection of all the customs and canons of the oriental church; but the authentic ones are only 22 books."

"Dog Fennel in the Orient" ought to be in everybody's book case.

Liberty is never nearer theoretic license than when the mob threatens nor Government nearer practical tyranny than when it disputes with the mob over the dividing line. No free Government can afford to be impatient.

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(By Joel M. Berry.)

The above problem has been in dispute ever since Jesus set his foot on this earth, and it is no nearer a solution today than it

Americans have become so accustomed to sending missionaries to Mohammedan countries in the hope of converting the followers of the Prophet of Christianity that it seems a trifle strange to them to be informed that the Supreme Pontiff of Islam at Constantinople has actually sent a regular missionary to this country to ascertain the prospects of introducing the Moslem faith.—New York Sun.

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# ANARCHY

(Continued from Page 1.)

for profit is likely to grow into blowing them up for nothing, and the anarchist who decompounds a Czar because he should, will probably disintegrate a citizen because he can; hit, like fire and whiskey, is a good servant, but a bad master. Think of one of these advocates for sudden assassination thousands of miles from his native hunting grounds, and hard up for game! There are no czars; grand dukes are at a premium; he may be reduced to governors, even mayors, or at a pinch, to supervisors. Think of being reduced to a supervisor!

In Russia a fellow has to be illegally had to keep from being legally worse, to expand somebody else unconstitutionally to avoid being contracted constitutionally. There is no compromise between the something he wants to be and the nothing he doesn't want to be. There dramatic is one of the essentials, the only creator of political vacuum, the sole promoter of official variety. When a Russian official resigns, he is said to hand in his resignation with conspicuous complacency. When the last duke retired from office, he forgot to take ever fifty per cent of himself with him. I am told he advertised for his head; death is said to have been sudden. Now, don't you think it wouldn't require a resort to such logic to convince the uncle that he is a really superfluous? I date on political preference, but I want my resignation to be more gradual; when I prepare to plunk the celestial catgut, I don't want to grate into bliss; I am nothing if not dignified. What was left of the grand duke left a wife, probably a widow, and she visited the anarchist in jail. I don't know what she said to him; probably asked him if "his mother wasn't a woman?" or at least that is what all the plous old ladies ask me when I say that I don't believe in eternal punishment. I can't express a contrary opinion nowadays without some old woman doubting the sex of my maternal ancestry; nobody wants to know if my father wasn't a man. I own to being afflicted with a viril of the idiosyncrasy of genius, but in a few of the essentials I am emphatically with the majority. However, this is by the way.

In England the anarchist says what he wants, which keeps him from doing what the Government doesn't want. John Bull knows that as there is just so much growl in men and snarl in woman, the only safe method is leaving human nature unworked. The result is, everybody who has something to say he ought to go to the top to say it, and everybody who has something to do he ought to go to the bottom here to do it. Living near me is a woman with the feminine mania for squalling for somebody else knows is beyond hearing abnormally developed. She is in a constant state of distrust to gossip; too busy to chatter; but about dusk she steps out side and erupts vociferously: "Will-yum!" "O'Will-yum!" "You Wee-yum!" "You Wee-yum!" The consequences that the irresponsible William is probably in an adjoining township exerts no deterrent influence; just so much congested "Wee-yum" clamoring for exit; that's all! Do I make myself clear?

We can't make folks do as we wish in silence; obedience is naturally tempered with protest, surrender accompanied with condition, submission mixed with "back talk"; the tyrant's mistake is claiming the shadow with the substance. When I was a boy, old folks would fall upon children and larrup the blazes out of them, and while they were harder for yelling. The accepted belief among parents in my accursed childhood was that the worse you licked a young one the more he was supposed to evince a silent appreciation of the favor bestowed. I have no hesitation in saying that years ago the average boy who wasn't an anarchist at heart where his father was concerned, and did not number parade among the cardinal virtues, was the exception. And what are ignorant people but grown children, and what should a government be but a father, a modern father? Of course, it is exasperating to hear these ruffians believe that the flag and I wish every one who fouls the air made sacred that banner could be punished; but mark you, a little legal notice of much illegal talk infuses more public sympathy, always on tap in the Anglo-Saxon breast. The fault-finder with this government is necessarily a refugee from a worse one. The appreciation of liberty is to him an acquired taste, and a runaway Russian is as much out of place here as Balzac's ass would be in a grand old social. Let as chairman of a committee "de lunatico inquerendo." Do I make myself clear?

We are drifting, of course, toward greater liberty, and as we fight ourselves for it, we shall rationally demand it and successfully achieve it. The license of yesterday is as much the lib-

erty of today as the liberty of today will be the tyranny of tomorrow. What can our ancestors have done with our freedom? Confering upon us the liberty that will alone satisfy, and assimilate with our posterity would be creating a mighty good quality of pearls before a mighty poor quality of swine; freedom suitable for a gentleman wouldn't do this poor quality. We have earned only what we have; there is nothing more dangerous than a free man who has not served an apprenticeship to his freedom; the trouble with the American mob is, it has been suffered to bite off more than it can chew. Government by the people! What are the people but a drowsy of piped live stock, flattered with lies and enfolded with superstition; boasting of what they will do and doing what they are told; bragging of their liberty in one breath, hurrahing for the policeman and saluting him with the pistol in the next, hell-baying about their "rights" and throwing a somersault in adoration at the sight of a rum-soaked dictator or a jackleg soul saver. If you live in San Francisco, invoke my memory for an object lesson in "Government by the people." The golden age of democracy may dawn on this country, but when the sunrise of license begins to suck the striking force of equality from the social mud heap, I shall emigrate, follow the suggestion of the Irishman who said: "If the Americans don't like our country, let them leave it."

American anarchy is one of these idealistic nightmares resulting from an attempt of diluted European gastronomy to digest concentrated liberty. Every age has its trials, every generation its discouragements. The free press and the free press, the "softest" and is kind; its essence is standing what it can to show what it can stand. This glib talk of hanging Tom and Dick for countenancing what hanged Harry has been, is waste of breath; what doesn't approve of something which I don't want to merit the axe? I'll tell you what the mob says, but what it does: not what it plans, but what it executes; barking dogs seldom bite; a few jackasses kick almost as much growl as a bad law; the injurious of an injustice does not insure ready obedience; there is an irrepressible conflict between "Thou shalt not" and "I want to!" Quarantine is useful, but the quarantine office is unpopular; all sick arrivals come here, what keeps them here? Do you know any more vociferous fellow citizens than our anti-vaccinationists? Few admire a policeman; he is, to most folks, not their protector, but a uniformed threat with his eye ever upon the innocent, expecting they will. Yet abolishing the policeman for what he would do if we deserved it calls for annulling the street scavenger because he preves that we are not so cleanly as we should be; remedies are rarely pleasant, or small sweat, but without them we should be more unpleasant and small worse. We must be kept from doing as much as we wish to keep us from doing more than we should; few of us can satisfy ourselves without dissatisfying others; there is nothing I suspect more than the perfectly reasonable man. When you meet a fellow with "no kick in him," watch him!

As to waiting the anarchists, how do we know the Czar wants them; as to hanging them, how do we know the devil wants them? From the latest evidence, but rather than accept of him. As they are here we should treat them with apparent indifference and eternal vigilance; humor the promoter, hang the performer! A man may believe in somebody else doing something that he wouldn't do himself. I often do. Personally, I should rejoice at a general anarchist exodus, but they won't. "Just," and when anybody is bombarded, I should approve of hanging all connected with the bombardment, not because they would be anarchists, but because they would be murderers. But perhaps some anarchists are not expansionists. In the meantime, Emma Goldman is buzzing from pillar to post, talking nonsense and escorted by detectives and city police, with the United States Government as advance agent. Although a born Anarchist, I am not a statesman, but it seems to me that if we have a pair of self-evident facts down here, that that government by the tyrant and government by the people are failures. There is but one "ocracy" worse than anocracy or "nobocracy," and that is the dirty, bawdy, thocratic, that fattens on either. "The greatest possible good for the greatest possible number" is secured as much by a minority of one as by a majority of millions. The trouble lies not so much in the fact that "our representative" represent their constituents too little, but that they represent them too much. The only guarantee of good government is the "people's representative" forgetting the people as soon after his election as possible. But the people have the franchise, and we must do the best we can till relief comes from death.

the State's prison and the public school. And in closing, let me say I am yet to hear an anarchist insult the public school, and I have more respect for the man who insults everything else we have and honors that, than for him who honors everything else and insults that without which the stars and stripes would be "a filthy rag flapping the air in which it waves." Do I make myself clear?

## POPE AND ROOSEVELT

Does the Pontiff Alone Discriminate Against Associates of Undesirable Citizens?

BY HENRY FRANK

Theodore Roosevelt, whether or no he have ambitious or ulterior political motives, has proved himself a true citizen of his country in defying the anathema of Rome. Roosevelt's instinctive sense of self-supremacy, however, caused him to underestimate the importance of his act and thus partly to weaken its effect by telegraphing the American people how to conduct themselves in the light of his momentous deed. Roosevelt's pedagogic and detailed instruction to the American people is almost as offensive in the light of American independence as was the Pope's implied insult to his intelligence.

Pope Pius X. mistrusted Roosevelt's tact and sense of the proprieties, and before receiving him, lost the Pope's attitude might be misconstrued, he presumed to instruct his proposed distinguished visitor in his duties subsequent to his visitation. Thereupon the aforesaid distinguished American felt his indignation, American sense of independence offended and abruptly ended the negotiations, avoiding the Vatican. But no sooner had the Pope insulted the native intelligence of Roosevelt than he the Vatican. But no sooner had he insulted the general intelligence of all his fellow citizens. Fearing that the American people were not wise enough to know how to construe his act and in what manner to discuss it, he sent a long categorical message to the Vatican, giving them detailed instruction and beseeching them not to go to war over the matter. The Pope seems to be smarting under the slight that Roosevelt inflicted on him, and the entire American citizenship has come to sympathize with his Pontifical Supremacy.

Nevertheless, whatever we may think of Roosevelt's idiosyncrasies, he has done a world-wide service for universal freedom and intelligence by wrenching the Vatican and thrusting a few rays of twentieth century intelligence into its antiquated brain. One might surmise that the Papal College had learned its lesson from the Fairbanks incident. But drops of water must fall for many centuries before they penetrate a stony surface.

I, as a Liberal, am not at all in favor of straightway set about to be interested in the warfare being waged between Catholic and testantism. We who are without the theological barracks are well enough assured of the facts to know that the garrison of bigotry is equally strong in either fortress. The Presbyterians and Methodists have yet as much to learn in the way of intellectual and theological freedom as have the Catholics of ecclesiastical and political freedom. Nevertheless, to the honor of the modern Protestant churches it must be admitted that their strides in progress within the last quarter century have been both amazing and reassuring. Advanced Methodism of today is virtually the conservative Unitarianism of preceding decades. Progressive Presbyterians and independent Baptists are today sloughing off the ancient misguiding theology and coming rapidly in line with science and modern discovery. The movement is, however, slow and nondescript, and altogether irksome to active and advancing minds.

Mr. Roosevelt wishes us to understand that no religious question is involved in his controversy with the Pope, but that merely a question of personal etiquette and the sense of individual independence are involved. In that statement Roosevelt is shortsighted and uninformed, unless, in deed, he is evasive and insincere. The Pope's attitude towards Roosevelt, in undertak-

ing to prescribe as to his intelligence and personal whereabouts, is merely the arrogant attitude of the Vatican towards all mankind. The Pope's defenders about that he is the supreme sovereign of 250,000,000 devoted subjects, and as the Pontifical sovereign his will should be respected. But the Pope's defenders forget that there are millions of millions of people on the earth who do not respect the Pope's opinion or yield to his authority. In presuming to dictate to Mr. Roosevelt, the Pope reveals his purpose to dictate to the entire world. Roosevelt is no subject of the Pope, nor is any other American citizen, whether Protestant or Catholic. If the Pope dares to interfere with Mr. Roosevelt's personal independence in Rome, how much more will he venture to interfere with the personal independence of his subjects here in America! If Roosevelt or any other American evokes the pregnant hinges of the knee for the favor of the Pope he implies to every Catholic in America that when the Pope deigns to interfere with the rights of other earthly potentates and governments. The Catholics everywhere would soon construe such an act. And the outrage which American Independence has heretofore suffered at the hands of despotically weak Americans who for the sake of favor and recognition have shamelessly submitted to the Pope's dictation has found in Roosevelt a just and praiseworthy rebuke.

Everyone who reads history knows that the Pope has his eye on America. This nation is his final hope and inspiration. He has even openly so declared through some of his legates. The Vatican is at heart no less cruel today than in past centuries. This is evident in the lusty spirit of revenge now ranking in the banished priests of France, on whose heads fell the condemnation of the radical government. It was manifest in the murderous deed of Francisco Ferrer, the specter of whose presence still hangs like a menace over the lovers of the world's famous Socialists, as Babel or James or Brind, chose as private citizens to visit this land. Someone there incited themselves to call at the White House and honor him with a visit. Suppose that a crowd of Socialists were about to be assembled, and Roosevelt knew there was a revolution in the air, that the lights of socialism would attend the assemblage of "undesirable citizens." Now in all candor I ask, would you not, Mr. Roosevelt, under such circumstances have acted much as did the Pope in his predicament?

A silly plea is made by some of the Pope's defenders that he is an old decrepit man confined to a virtual prison cell within the walls of the Vatican. This is enough to make even Nestor laugh at the plea. Why should we halt at the denunciation of Rome and her pompous power of darkness and oppression because she chooses to honor an old and sickly man as her pope? Has she no healthy, young, and vigorous priests to serve her; or perchance must she elect only weak and decrepit men as her popes to symbolize her own decrepitude and decay? Why is the pope a prisoner in the Vatican save that he chooses to be? He owes millions of the poor people's money; he wears costly and extravagant robes, paid for by his myriad dupes; he enjoys what ease and elegance of person and environment his tastes may demand; he thrives in luxuriant abundance of pagantry and splendor. In order that he may maintain his throne, scores of human blood have been spilt; countless heroes have worn the martyr's crown; progress has been held back for centuries in the grip of superstitious stupidity; scholars have been slaughtered, science denigrated, science demoralized, womanhood demeaned or debauched, education perverted or perverted, and the purblind masses held groveling in fear at the feet of papal power.

Rome knows nothing of freedom. Her war cry is "Death to liberty." Her orison, "O God, slay thou the heretic!" Rome and Independence mix! As well mix oil and water! Either Rome

as an autocratic power must perish on American soil, or American independence will perish at her hands. Roosevelt, whether or not he meant to, has taught the aged Pope the meaning of American independence. Roosevelt's crime, however, may be more disquieting than his kick. If he seeks to crawl out of his predicament lest he may lose political power at home, he will make himself doubly ridiculous. He has indeed threatened the "absurd pomp" of Rome, and he should receive the chastisement of every Catholic who is more the subject of Rome than of America. Let Catholics now wreak their vengeance at the polls and prove that real sovereignty is dearer to them than their own. The Vatican is a real sovereign is leader to them than the liberty of Columbia has vouchsafed them. It would be well if Rome would dare to do this; to show her teeth on American soil and prove she is still the same old mother to lean at the throat of her foes as in all the ages past. The shameless shadow of Rome once, indeed, fell athwart this land. It was "Rum-Romanism-and-Rebellion" barbed which caused the downfall of James G. Blaine. The Vatican is the Vatican, its power on American soil. May the outrage never again be perpetrated! It might be well to have the candidate thrown out of office, and if Roosevelt again becomes a political standard-bearer, to seize it and challenge Rome to do her best.

Yet Roosevelt himself has much to learn. There are those who suffer at his hands the outrage of their freedom as he at the hands of the Pope. Roosevelt is a weakling, the Vatican is a lion. Roosevelt and his Socialists and social democrats. His mistake fairly seethes with fiery fumes when he mentions the name of Socialism. He hates too, the Infidel and stoans even to blaspheme the name of Thomas Paine in his honored grave. Yet we assume that when Roosevelt set as President in the White House one of the world's famous Socialists, as Babel or James or Brind, chose as private citizens to visit this land. Someone there incited themselves to call at the White House and honor him with a visit. Suppose that a crowd of Socialists were about to be assembled, and Roosevelt knew there was a revolution in the air, that the lights of socialism would attend the assemblage of "undesirable citizens." Now in all candor I ask, would you not, Mr. Roosevelt, under such circumstances have acted much as did the Pope in his predicament?

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